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ABSTRACT

This is a three-year study of social adjustment patterns in the francophone and anglophone student populations of New Brunswick, Canada. After a brief economic sketch of New Brunswick's francophone North and anglophone South, there is a description of research objectives and methodology. In the investigation, three new elements were found to be characteristic of the student population: (1) increasing empathy, described as being formal (related to a classroom situation), informal (due to socializing) and technical (the result of interest in a technical field); (2) a growing worldmindedness, or the receptivity to another's culture; and (3) an emerging new cultural identity, resulting from the first two elements. (AM)

Bicultural Social Adjustment Patterns Among New Brunswick Students



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"Le Canada est en train de devenir une nation entièrement bilingue et biculturelle. Fait sans précédent dans l'histoire, et (...) fondamental dans la définition de notre avenir. Là réside notre identité. Il nous incombe à nous tous de l'assumer pleinement et en toute connaissance de cause."

(The Hon. Gérard Pelletier in an address to the American Association of Teachers of French, in Boston, November 30, 1968.)

If the above principle, stated so concisely seven years ago by M. Pelletier, describes major Canadian cultural objectives on a national scope, a logical step for Canadian social science would be to inquire what progress has been made in the intervening years.

This report focuses on recent factors and dimensions in the lives of New Brunswick student populations who are making significant adjustments to their traditional anglophone and francophone environments. An example of an emerging, significant interaction pattern in the lives of a current student generation is

provided by a recent interchange between Moncton francophone students and the New Brunswick Liberal Party leader, Mr. Robert Higgins:

"Les étudiants de l'Université de Moncton ont eu la chance de discuter et de rencontrer le leader du parti libéral Robert Higgins hier midi lors d'une rencontre (à l'édifice des sciences infirmières...) ... Higgins a demandé aux étudiants de lui poser les questions en français, mais il leur a dit qu'il répondrait en anglais parce qu'il pouvait mieux s'exprimer en anglais en matière politique. Il a quand même parlé français à plusieurs occasions demandant même à un étudiant qui lui avait parlé en anglais s'il parlait français et l'étudiant a répondu que oui. M. Higgins a dit aux étudiants qu'il n'était ni Anglais ni Français, mais Irlandais. M. Higgins a aussi dit que le bilinguisme était mal compris à travers la province, qu'il considérerait un francophone pour le ministre de l'Éducation si les libéraux formaient le prochain gouvernement et qu'il ferait tout son possible pour s'assurer que les francophones soient servis dans leur langue lorsqu'ils s'adressent au gouvernement." (L'ÉVANGÉLINE, Moncton, Nov. 8, 1974, p. 2.)

Such an appeal for student support by a leading New Brunswick anglophone politician tends to refute somewhat the conservative, insular image of this province. Also evident is the fact that the English-speaking population is reflecting seriously upon its own identity, vis-à-vis the growing self-assurance of the minority Acadians.

It is primarily the French-speaking, Acadian, minority students who have had to confront the modernizing forces of rapid urbanization, increasing exposure to higher education and consequent upward social mobility and, at the same time, preserve the essential elements of their traditional culture and language. Anglophone students, largely concentrated in the more highly industrialized, relatively more prosperous southern half of the province, constitute the second group in this comparison of social adjustment patterns.

Results of this three year, cooperative research project indicate significant changes in three areas of francophone and anglophone student social adjustment patterns: 1) Empathy is the ability to see oneself in the other fellow's situation; the readiness to consider change and to try out a new idea is characteristic of increasing numbers of both anglophone and francophone undergraduates. 2) Worldmindedness, manifested in human behavior by a certain receptivity to and identification with cultural and social

values outside one's local range of experience, is distinctive of a small but articulate segment of students in both language groupings. 3) Students who act as arbitrators or mediators between the traditional anglophone and francophone New Brunswick cultures, who are not only conversant in a second language and tradition but also form part of an emerging third culture element, are developing a new, distinctive Canadian identity. The open-ended and fluid norms of the third culture groupings are themes of equality, tolerance and interdependence in cross-cultural relations.

Basically, the open-endedness and receptivity to change, which distinguish the modern third culture patternings, are two factors which differentiate them from traditional bicultural and bilingual patterns. Thus, instead of the societal position defining the role or roles to be played in the traditional New Brunswick society, as is the case for most bilingual and bicultural anglophones and francophones who function primarily within their maternal language grouping, students in the New Brunswick third culture tended to construct their own roles.

TRADITION AND CHANGE IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK MILIEU

"The old ways die hard in New Brunswick", was the opening comment of a recent CBC television special program on this province. *"The image of the New Brunswicker is still that of a hewer of wood and a drawer of water."* Despite the backward, rural image of this Maritimer, living out his existence in a sparsely inhabited and geographically remote part of the country, some important changes have occurred in peoples' lives in this province in recent years.

While unemployment still plagues the Atlantic provinces, according to *The Financial Post* (Nov. 16, 1974, p. 1), *"For the first time in modern history, New Brunswick is overflowing with industrial development and there are more jobs than people to fill them in some centres like St. John."*

In the north of the province, however, in what is often termed *"the other New Brunswick"*, a marginal existence, allied to the primary industries of fishing, farming and forestry, is characteristic of the lives of the largely francophone population, according to the CBC documentary. Twenty-two to thirty percent unemployment in this region accounts for *"the plight of the North"*, a region which furnishes a significant proportion of the province's francophone undergraduates.

With this brief economic sketch of New Brunswick in mind, a discussion of the essential background elements of the research project itself will set the stage for a commentary on recent manifestations of bilingualism and biculturalism.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this study were twofold: 1) to identify certain basic attitudes and social adjustment patterns of undergraduates in New Brunswick and 2) to generate comparative data in a substantive form which would lend itself to analysis along three dimensions — institution attended (anglophone or francophone), by maternal language of student, and by maternal language and year in college or university. The data gathering procedure consisted of a sample survey of second and fourth year undergraduate students in the province. It was reasoned that the sample survey method would provide a model assessment of population characteristics (measures of central tendency), permit generalizations to be inferred from the sample, as well as yield individual points of view and significant factual information.

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

Construction of the surveys began with the researchers' interest in student manifestations of worldmindedness. The heuristic question was posed that there might well be consequentially different patterns of responses from New Brunswick anglophone and francophone students, when asked to describe their own pasts, presents and anticipated futures. On the basis of exploratory interviews with English and French-speaking undergraduates in New Brunswick colleges and universities, two bilingual questionnaires (one a survey format, the second a personal interview format) were constructed.

The population: Subjects in this study were English and French-speaking second and fourth year undergraduates enrolled in the ten provincial colleges and universities in the academic years 1971-1973.

The sample: A stratified proportional sample of 15 to 20% of the students in their second and fourth academic years was obtained from alphabetically arranged institutional registration lists. Students to be surveyed were selected at constant intervals from registration lists. About 8% of the total provincial student population was represented in the 792 completed returns, from a total of 1,023 survey forms distributed. A total of 100 personal interviews from among those who had completed the questionnaire, selected on a random basis, were held in the period 1972-74.

Because the francophone colleges had asked for separate and more complete information for their own planning purposes and because of their smaller student populations relative to the anglophone institutions, higher percentages of returns were included in samples from francophone colleges.

THREE FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONTEMPORARY NEW BRUNSWICK CULTURE

1) The Empathy Factor

Political economists have long noted that *"intense localism"*, shading into small-scale regionalism, is a dominating characteristic of the New Brunswick electorate, and that education, experience and knowledge of larger affairs are of secondary consideration at best. How did it occur, then, that *"empathy"*, earlier defined as the ability to see oneself in the other fellow's situation, to be receptive to change and to be ready to accept something new, became characteristic of part of the present student population?

In effect, the schools in New Brunswick, as social institutions, tend to be located at the convergence of cultural fault lines in the province, lines where anglophones and francophones are intermingled geographically. A type of formal empathy has developed along these cultural fault lines, to borrow geological terms, which may be thought of as fractures where rubbing and filing take place and pressures build up. The *"social geology"* of these pressures apparently generates constructive energy on the part of the schools, resulting in rather effective second language programs for many students.

Thus, formal patterns of language learning activities in many, if not most New Brunswick schools, result in the early formation of a type of *"formal empathy"* in both anglophone and francophone students. A recent example of this phenomenon of formal empathy development was described in an education report (*THE EVENING TELEGRAM*, St. John's Nfld., Wed. Oct. 9, 1974, p. 7):

"Deputy Education Minister for New Brunswick, Armand Saintonge, said that language consultants and extra teachers capable of speaking both French and English are being sent into north shore and Miramichi River districts to beef up the French language instruction for anglophone and English language instruction for francophones at the junior high level."

In 1966, in a brief presented to the city council of Moncton by Université de Moncton, the Reverend Clément Cormier, then rector and now chancellor of the University, stated:

"Graduates of English-speaking high schools desiring to enrol in this rapidly expanding new institution of higher learning will be given every needed assistance in their efforts to become fully bilingual by graduation day."

Significant numbers of undergraduate anglophone students to this day are enrolled in this francophone institution and manifest positive patterns of formal empathy as they enhance their bilingual and bicultural abilities.

The development of informal empathy among New Brunswick youth populations is also a factor in breaking down the "intense localism" characteristic of an older generation. Informal empathy among young New Brunswickers, who have grown up along the cultural fault lines described earlier, was described by the former provincial second language consultant, Lois Russell. Writing in *The Canadian Modern Language Review* (Vol. 28, March, 1972, No. 3, pp. 14-20), Miss Russell noted that, in New Brunswick "there is, however, a certain group of pupils who are almost bilingual when they enter school. They may have learned both languages at home or perhaps they acquired some proficiency in the "milieu". Sometimes it is really only a flip of the coin as to which school they will attend, an English or a French one. Sometimes they may start out in one system only to switch over after a few years to the other system. At any rate, it is evident that these pupils are bored by a second language program designed for children who are learning the language from 'scratch'."

That informal learning, whereby the principal bilingual socializing agent is a model used for imitation rather than a formal mentor in the classroom, is an important factor in second language learning (and informal empathy development) is borne out in research. Bruce Barkman, writing in *The McGill Journal of Education* (Spring, 1969, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 48), concluded that "the results of (school) programs have generally been disappointing in that English-speaking children do not learn French well in school, nor do French-speaking children learn English there. Indeed, highly skilled bilinguals normally explain their success as the result of early and constant exposure to the second language in the streets or in the home." In terms of a current New Brunswick undergraduate population, many of whom are the first in their family to experience higher education, empathy or receptivity to bilingualism and biculturalism are already incorporated into normative behavior through early formal and informal learning circumstances peculiar to this province.

There is still another empathy factor inherent in the New Brunswick milieu which is tending to break down some of the old barriers. "Technical empathy" is the most recent development among student and adult populations in this province and is a direct result of modernization processes in a society which is rapidly becoming industrial, literate, urban and participant in its life style. Technical empathy, most often associated with students involved in newer technologies, computers, communications and other "pure" and applied research areas, arises from the fact that new

knowledge is being generated in both the French and the English language communities in New Brunswick. The monolingual New Brunswicker can only advance so far in his speciality or profession and then is blocked either from further knowledge or promotion until proficiency is demonstrated in the second language, whether English or French.

Crash programs for the development of second language proficiencies for specialists and technologists are quite common in this province and often result in the development of a technical empathy in a very specialized bilingual-bicultural context. It is professional rather than social in character. Thus, one can find francophone pre-medical students proficient in English for professional reasons and anglophone students of sociology or political science proficient in French because their studies and career lines demand this knowledge. Technical empathy results from the mastery of a hard core of knowledge in the second language, usually at the college or adult levels while formal empathy is associated more with general studies in the second language.

Informal empathy to bilingualism and biculturalism develops most frequently in the early life of New Brunswick students and is largely a matter of the young anglophone or francophone picking the other as a language model to imitate while associating on the streets or playgrounds or in the home. The empathy factor is, then, an important consideration in the lives of New Brunswick students, both in overcoming the deepseated insularity which has been their heritage, and in developing a new mobile sensibility or empathic readiness to participate actively in their changing society.

2) The Worldmindedness Factor

Worldmindedness is manifested in human behavior by a certain receptivity to, and identification with, cultural values and social identities outside of one's local frame of reference. It was reasoned that the rather unique bilingual and bicultural milieu of this province would have a significant influence on worldmindedness patterns among these students (if, indeed, such patterns did exist). With a relatively low position in the Canadian federation, New Brunswick has retained much of its old social, economic and political patterns and is usually not considered a fertile ground for worldmindedness.

Described by New Brunswick writer Alden Nowlan as a kind of "*national poorhouse*", the province is considered by some to have more in common with the third world of underdeveloped countries. Localism, insularity, the migration of the young in the past, away from the province, the absence of a new immigrant population in significant numbers (bringing different folkways with them), have all contributed to an enduring ethnocentrism among many New

Brunswickers, an ethnocentrism which has by no means disappeared to this day.

"Gatekeepers" with impressive influence in both linguistic communities in the province still regulate the pace of social change for the large traditional segments of the anglophone and francophone populations. In the main, English-French relations in the wider social arena of the province are controlled by traditionals with a "long memory". They are guardians or gatekeepers of a revered and exclusive clan chronicle. The new arrival from out of the province, with his entrepreneurial spirit or change-oriented behaviour, is not easily accepted by the New Brunswicker with a long memory.

However, out of their French and English history, a percentage of New Brunswick undergraduates are emerging with a new, distinctly Canadian identity, as they develop the basic communication skills required of their bilingual and bicultural environment. A francophone and an anglophone student, interviewed concerning the effects of university experience in New Brunswick on their own lives, reflected a widening world-outlook in their comments.

Acadian student: *"Je suis fier d'être Canadien; mais je vois que c'est une erreur de penser seulement au nationalisme. Il faudrait viser à une échelle supérieure pour se débarrasser du racisme et du nationalisme."*

Anglophone student: *"I feel university has helped me to get to know myself better, both my qualities and faults. I also find it has broadened my outlook on life and increased my social awareness of the rich traditions in this area. I often feel, though, too bogged down in planned assignments to take time off to visit in the north of the province and to try out my new language skills..."*

In many ways, New Brunswick undergraduates manifested world-mindedness patterns more common to undergraduates across Canada than did those of either the traditional francophone or anglophone establishment in their own province.

Both language groups claimed significant numbers of foreign student friends, reported that they felt "at home" outside of their province and of Atlantic Canada. Many New Brunswick students, especially those with bilingual skills, reported a strong interest in living and working outside of Canada for a period of years after completion of their studies, even to the point of raising their own family overseas. In general, it was the English-speaking students who expressed more mobile sensibility or readiness to try a new way of life on the Canadian scene, while French-speaking

students, more likely to be fluently bilingual, expressed more interests in an international living and working experience.

While ethnocentrism still persists in the more isolated pockets and corners of New Brunswick and is more noticeable among the 'over 30' age group in some of the larger centers, world-mindedness is an emerging characteristic manifested by significant numbers of both anglophone and francophone undergraduates. Perhaps as a result of attaining much more formal education than did their parents, these students expressed more curiosity about the world outside of their province and a definite desire to broaden their own perspectives.

AN EMERGING THIRD CULTURE

A third culture, according to Useem (*The Centennial Review*, Fall, 1963), denotes the social patterns common to a human community which spans two or more societies. In the case of New Brunswick undergraduates, in this study, the third culture does not mean either the traditional adjustment patterns of the two language groups, nor the fusion or assimilation of one grouping by the other. In essence, the third culture is a new pattern in the lives of these students, arising out of the empathy created along the cultural fault lines or pressure points described earlier, and the worldmindedness generated by the interaction patterns of men and women belonging to different societies. A third culture cannot be understood fully without reference to its mediating functions between societies, nor apart from the bicultural New Brunswick milieu in which its participants learned to behave as human beings.

Third culture New Brunswickers are by no means numerous but they are crucial mediators between the two traditional anglophone and francophone societies. In addition to providing a cutting edge for modernization forces seeking outlets among young and highly educated francophones and anglophones, the third culture is a contemporary society which provides a compensating dynamism for youth reacting against the "gatekeeper" and the "long memory" mentality of traditional New Brunswick.

Students in the New Brunswick third culture tended to construct their own roles, to adapt easily to traditional anglophone or francophone customs and to profit from the "*savoir faire*" gained from acting as the principal mediators between the traditionals. There were many striking examples of students who combined, for example, traditional French studies with modern English technology, and vice versa. This bicultural study-blending provided students in traditional careers with new perspectives and opportunities not readily accessible to monolingual or even bilingual students not psychically mobile enough to assume mediating roles.

The New Brunswick third culture was found to be open-ended and rapidly changing, and provided at least a temporary haven for students with "mobile personality" tendencies, students who have a growing capacity for rearranging the self-system on short notice. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the New Brunswick student third culture was the self-conscious effort on the part of its carriers to create a common ground for living and working together.

These third culture patterns characterized and gave meaning and perspective to students creating new roles in a modern society. Third culture behavior was also characterized by stress as well as consensus, by patterns of avoidance and hostility as well as patterns of compatibility, while individuals from two different societies learn to relate to one another.

The pervasive norms of the modern New Brunswicker are that relationships among members of the society ideally should be co-ordinate, rational, developmental and modern-oriented.

Three factors — increasing empathy, a growing worldmindedness and an emerging third culture — among anglophone and francophone undergraduates in New Brunswick have resulted in new bilingual and bicultural social adjustment patterns. There is evidence that New Brunswick students are neither provincial nor closed-minded in their world outlook or in their desire to create a viable modern society. Students of both language groupings have incorporated significant aspects of worldmindedness in their current attitudes and plans for the future. Consciously modern and aware of new social developments in their society, these students have retained much of their traditional Maritime heritage. A small but important contemporary New Brunswick culture, described here as an emerging third culture, was characteristic of students adapting themselves to the modern requirements of a bilingual and bicultural society.

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JEU DE VOCABULAIRE

Tous les mots nécessaires contiennent les lettres "QM":

1. Jean n'a pas raison; il se
2. Un se compose d'un veston et d'un pantalon de la même étoffe.
3. L'élève efface la faute avec une
4. Adam était le premier
5. En hiver, la neige sur les montagnes.
6. La est un bon fruit rouge et vert.
7. La saison qui précède l'hiver est l'.....
8. La atomique peut détruire la civilisation.
9. Les parlaient latin.
10. est un adverbe et une conjonction.
11. Une Renault est une française.
12. Le est un produit du lait.

(Prepared by Margaret Crute, North Vancouver Senior Secondary School - Reprinted from Service d'information à l'usage des professeurs de français au Yukon, janvier 1975 - Si vous sentez le besoin de vérifier vos réponses, tournez à la page 22.)